A REMONSTRANCE

From his EXCELLENCY

Sir THO: FAIRFAX,

And the Army under his COMMAND.

CONCERNING

Their juſt and cleare proceedings hitherto, in the behalfe of the Parliament, Kingdome, and themſelves.

And the evill and treacherous dealing they have found from the enemies, to their owne, and the Parliaments, and Kingdomes Peace and freedome.

Together with their preſent difficulties, and dangers in Relation thereunto.

And their preſent Reſolutions thereupon.

With the Grounds of all theſe.

By the Appointment of his EXCELLENCY, and the generall Councell of his Army.

Signed, *John Ruſhworth*
Secretary.

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A Remonſtrance FROM HIS EXCELLENCIE Sir THO: FAIRFAX, And the Army under his COMMAND.

WHen (by the bleſſing of God upon the endeavours of this Army, and other forces of the *Parliament*) the adverſe forces and Garriſons within this Kingdome were diſſipated, and reduced, a preſent quiet, and freedome of Trade, and all Commerce, and buſineſſe reſtored to all parts of the Kingdome, and an hopefull way made for ſetling of a ſound and laſting Peace, on good termes for the Intereſt of the Kingdome, inſtead of the hoped

fruit of our labours, and hazzards, and of the Kingdomes vast expence (in the defending of Justice and Righteousnesse, and the setling and upholding of common Right and freedome to the Subjects of this Nation) we found immediately the crosse-workings of a strong and prevalent Partie in the *Parliament*, and Kingdome, who walking (under the maske of the *Parliaments* friends; but being in truth men of corrupt, and private ends, and Interests, different from, and destructive to the reall and common Interest of the Kingdome) made use of their power to obstruct, and pervert Justice, to injure, oppresse, and crush the peaceable, and well-affected people of the Kingdome, to abridge and overthrow all just freedome and libertie, and drive on designes to set up a Party, and faction in the *Parliament*, and Kingdome, and (by the advantage of a perpetuall *Parliament*) to domineere over, and inslave the Kingdome to posteritie, And for that end to make such a Peace with the King (if any) as without any just provision for the common and true Interest of the people, and the securities thereof for future, would serve only to make up, and establish their owne greatnesse, and the affected domination of themselves, and their Partie over all others.

To all which ends (as before this *Parliament*) the ignominious names of Puritan, and Non-conformist, and the specious pretences for setling of Order, Decencie, and Uniformity in Religion were made use of, to the prejudice, trouble, and suppressing of all, that appeared, either for the Truth and power of Religion, or for the Rights, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and towards the advancing at once, both of an Ecclesiasticall, and Civill tyranny. So this generation of men in the application of the *Parliaments* Power (succeeding the former in the exercise of the Kings) have made use of the odious names of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, *Heretickes*, *Schismaticks*, or Sectaries of one sort or other; to blast such men in whom the Truth, and power of Religion, or a just sense of the common Interest of the Kingdome hath appeared, and have held forth the pretences of Reformation, and Uniformity to colour and

countenance

countenance their Deſignes, of ſetting up their owne irreligious, or phariſaicall domineering faction, to the oppreſſion of all other people; And herein they have had a great advantage, to further their aforeſaid Deſignes, by reaſon of the jealouſies, which many Conſcientious men of the Presbyterian Judgement have entertained concerning this Army, and concerning divers other eminent, and worthie Inſtruments of the Kingdomes good, who (being in places of publick truſt Truſt, and Power) were ſuppoſed to be of the *Independent* way.

In purſuance of their aforeſaid deſignes they endeavoured, and by their power and influence upon the Parliament, and the advantage of ſuch pretences as aforeſaid, very much prevailed to put out of all places of power, or publick truſt, the moſt ſober, and conſciencious men, and ſuch as had approved themſelves faithfull to the publick intereſt throughout all the late troubles; and to put in debauched, and diſſolute men, or ſuch as would for advantage ſerve their private intereſts; and for that end (in caſes where they could not otherwiſe prevaile) procured ſuch Garriſons to be ſlighted, and ſuch powers to be recalled (though more neceſſary to have been continued) which they found in the hands of perſons of the former ſort, and ſuch to be continued (though leſſe neceſſary) as they found in the hands of the later. And the better to ſtrengthen themſelves in their deſignes, cloſing with a very powerfull party in the Citie of *London*, they firſt with much activitie endeavoured and prevailed to new modell the Common Counceil and forme the ſame to their own party, and then ſtirred them up to Petition (amongſt other things concurrent to their ends) for the alteration of the City-*Militia*, who, by their continuall, violent, and preſſing importunitie at the Parliaments doores, wrung from the Parliament an Ordinance for that purpoſe, whereby they procured the power of that *Militia* (the ſpeciall influence whereof upon the Citie and Kingdome, and upon the Parliament it ſelfe (being the onely guard they had for their ſafe ſitting) is evident to all men) to be taken out of thoſe hands in which it had been continued without

out prejudice, and with great, and known ſecurity, and advantage, both to the Parliament, City, and Kingdome, throughout the late troubles (and this, without any exception, either then or ſince made againſt them) and to be put into the hands of ſuch others as were (at beſt) of doubtfull affections to the intereſt of the Parliament, and Kingdome, but indeed men given up, and ingaged to the private intereſts, and deſignes of the ſaid factious party, as hath ſince too evidently appeared, and as in the late Declaration of the Army concerning the grounds of our advance towards *London*, is more fully remonſtrated. And (finding this Army not for their turnes) they made it their maine worke to diſ-band or breake it in pieces, (even before the reliefe of *Ireland* were provided for, or the peace of this Kingdome ſetled.) And though all this went under the pretence of eaſing the preſent burthens of the Kingdome, yet at the ſame time they deſigned and went about to put the Kingdome to the expence, and trouble of raiſing and forming a new force (under pretence as for the ſervice of *Ireland*) but evidently deſigned, and ſo framed as to ſerve their own ends and purpoſes aforeſaid in *England*. And (being many of them filled and acted with perſonall envy, and others with malignity of principles and intereſts againſt this Army, and the worke of God by it.) It would not ſerve their turne to breake or diſ-band it, but it muſt be with all poſſible diſhonour, injury, oppreſſion, and provocation that they could put upon it. And it was too evident, that their endeavour was not onely to put it off without the honour, or ſatisfaction due to it, for the ſervice it had done, but to diſ-band it on ſuch termes, as to ſubject, and expoſe all (and even the moſt faithfull) ſervants of the Parliament, and Kingdome, both in the Army, and elſewhere, unto oppreſſion, and undoing, or to the mercy of their own, and ſuch other mens malicious and envenomed ſpirits, which could promiſe no better; for the more full and particular Demonſtration of all which, wee referre all knowing men to the practices and proceedings againſt this Army, unto the times (by their procurement) appointed for the

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dif-banding of it in ſeverall parts, without juſt and equall ſatisfaction, which have been in part remonſtrated in papers ſent from this Army, and publiſhed before our coming up to St *Albans*.

Upon conſideration of all this, and upon the reſolution, (which their own abuſes and provocations put upon the Army, had raiſed in the whole body of it) not to dif-band without further ſatisfaction, and ſecurity from the like abuſes in future; We did in our Repreſentation or Declaration ſent from St *Albans*, expreſſe in generall what things wee deſired, (beſides our concernments as Souldiers) to ſee done or provided for before our disbanding for the peace of the Kingdome and a ſecuring the Common rights, and liberties thereof, which wee were called out to defend and vindicate, and had ſo long fought for. And having (therewithall) impeached ſeverall Members of the houſe of Commons for their unjuſt practiſes and deſignes to ſuch purpoſes as are before expreſſed, and for indeavoring in proſecution thereof to ingage this Kingdome in a new warre; wee added ſome further deſires for the prevention of that miſchiefe (of a new warre) to the Kingdome and for our owne preſent ſecuritie from immediate ruine, while thoſe other things might bee treated on or conſidered. And upon the granting of ſome of them in part, and hopes given of ſome others (though we could not obtaine the reſt, and eſpecially not that which we held moſt juſt, equall and neceſſarie; viz. The poſitive ſuſpenſion of thoſe impeached members from ſitting in the Houſe, as judges in their owne cauſe, and from their power in Committees, whereby they had th' advantage to raiſe warre againſt us, and to make new diſturbances in the Kingdome yet) the ſaid impeached Members pretending to withdraw themſelves from the Parliament, until their cauſes ſhould be heard and tryed, and the Houſe giving conſent thereto; Wee out of our tenderneſſe to Parliament Privilidges, and our earneſt deſires to yeeld all obſervance to the Parliament and ſatisfaction to the Citie (who pretended a full concurrence with us in our declared deſires for ſettling the peace

and

and liberties of the Kingdome) did at the Parliaments command, and the Cities requeſt, withdraw the Army to the deſired diſtance from *London*, and diſperſed it further to ſeveral parts of the Kingdome for the eaſe of the Countrey, and proceeded in a peaceable and regular way, to prepare and proſecute more particlar Charges againſt the ſaid Impeached members, which within a few dayes after wee accordingly ſent up to the Houſe: And the ſaid Impeached members, (having put in a delatorie anſwer thereto with a plea and demurre to divers particulars therein) pretended, that (to avoyd any diſturbance or interruption to the preſent proceedings for ſettling the publicke affaires, by the interpoſall of their private cauſe,) they deſired leave and paſſes to travel for ſome Monthes, which accordingly the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons was ordered or authorized to give them, and wee (preſuming on the Houſes caution for their forth-comming to be tryed, when the affaires of the Kingdome were ſettled (which upon their firſt motion of withdrawing wee had inſiſted on,) did not gaineſay. And thereupon we proceeded in a quiet and hopefull way to prepar more particular propoſalls (in perſuance of our former generall deſires) for the preſent ſettling of the peace of the Kingdome to be tendred to the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding with the Army for that purpoſe. But finding that while wee were thus peaceably proceeding, the ſaid impeached members (notwithſtanding their pretended deſires to traveile) did continue in and about *London* very active and buſie to raiſe warre or make diſturbances in the Kingdome, and that the Committee of the *Militia* there did comply with them therin (by dayly liſting of men and other preparations towards warre, and ſheltring to that end, yea, and entertaining into ſervice thoſe ſame Reformadoes who (by Ordinance of Parliament,) were by them to have bin put out of the Lynes of Communication) and finding continuall jealouſies and diſturbances to our ſaid proceedings, bread in the Army by the dayly reports and alarmes thereof from the Citie, wee made a particuler addreſſe to the Parliament for the reſtoring of the Citie *Militia* into thoſe hands in which it was before the Ordinance of the fourth of *May*

laſt

for the reasonableneſſe of our deſires, wherein ſuppoſing that we had ſuch cauſe to inſiſt on ſome removall of that power out of the hands in which it was then put (as here before is partly expreſt, and in our late Declaration is more fully ſet forth) we dare confidently appeale to all men (not engaged or preiudiced againſt us) whether for the preſent ſafety and quiet of the City upon ſuch a change, and to prevent thoſe dangers or diſturbances to or in the City, which the want of a *Militia* during the intervall (betwixt the ceaſing of one, and new forming of another) might give occaſion and advantage unto (eſpecially in ſuch a iuncture of affaires) there could bee any other way ſo expedient as to render that change but an immediate reverting into thoſe hands in which it was ſo lately before (who would make up a *Militia* ready formed to ſucceed immediately in place of the other without any conſiderable intermiſſion or delay) and whether at a time when iealouſies and diſtruſts were both ſo rife and hurtfull (as they might occaſion no leſſe diſtraction or interruption to any quiet ſettlement or proceedings thereunto then reall attempt of miſchiefe would) there could be any propoſall more reaſonable or hopefull to beget a confidence and acquieſcence (as to that point) both in the Parliament, City, and Army, then to have that power reſtored (for the preſent) into thoſe hands of whoſe fidelity to the common intereſt, we had all found ſo ample and unqueſtioned proofe throughout the moſt dangerous times, upon our addreſſe therefore to the Parliament for that purpoſe (the Army being at ſuch diſtance as aforeſaid) both Houſes were pleaſed on the 23. of *July* laſt, to paſſe an Ordinance for returning of the *Militia* into thoſe hands, and repealing the Ordinance of the 4. of *May*, by which it had been changed as before: hereupon hoping all would quietly ſucceed to a ſettlement in this Kingdome we went on ſecurely to finiſh our propoſalls for that purpoſe, (the heads whereof have been ſince publiſhed) withdrew the headquarter to a further diſtance, diſperſed the Army to larger quarters for more eaſe to the Country, and upon a recommendation of the buſineſſe of *Ireland* from the

Parliament, we had in leſſe then a weekes ſpace prepared and ordered a conſiderable force (no leſſe then 4000. horſe & foot, as Sir *Thomas Temple* employed from the Parliament about that buſineſſe to us can teſtifie) for a preſent reliefe thereunto: But the reſtleſſe and treacherous malice of the enemies to our and the Kingdomes peace (taking their ſuppoſed advantage of our diſtance, and diſperſed poſture (which their faire pretences of peaceable intentions had induced us into) firſt, they did without all colour of authority, contrive and ſet on foot in the City, and many of them entred into a miſchievous and deſperate vow and ingagement, tending to the ſubverſion of the freedome of Parliament, and the liberties of this Nation, to the fruſtraiting of thoſe juſt and publicke ends, for which ſo much blood and treaſure hath been ſpilt, and ſpent, in the late Warres, and to the raiſing of a new Warre againſt the Parliament and their Army (which ſaid ingagement both Houſes of Parliament, did by their Declaration of the 23. of *July* adjudge and declare to be high Treaſon in all that ſhould promote or abet the ſame: and within a few dayes after (to wit, on Munday *July* 26.) there was a Petition brought to the Parliament, by the Sheriffes, and ſome Aldermen, and Common-councell-men, in the name of the City of *London*, for the recalling of the ſaid Ordinance of the 23. of *July*, concerning the *Militia*, and the returning of the *Militia* into thoſe hands, in which it was put by the Ordinance of the 4. of *May*, which Petition was immediately followed and backed with a tumultuous confluence of Apprentices, and other diſſolute and deſperate perſons, who committed moſt horrid and unheard of violence upon both Houſes, inforcing them to recall both the ſaid Declaration of the three & twentieth day of *July* (concerning the ſaid engagement.) And alſo the ſaid Ordinance of the ſame date, concerning the *Militia*, and compelling the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to reſume the Chaire, after the Houſe was adjourned, and the Houſe to paſſe ſuch further *Votes* concerning the Kings preſent comming to *London*, &c. as they the ſaid Rioters did pleaſe, neither the Guard from the City, that then attended the Houſes,

ſes, nor the Lord Mayor, Sheriffes, or any Authority in the City (though ſent to for that purpoſe) taking any courſe to ſuppreſſe the ſaid tumult, or relieve the Parliament againſt that violence, though it was continued for the ſpace of eight or ten houres.

And the Houſes having next day adjourned till Friday, *July* 30. There were Printed Tickets fixed upon poſts, in and about the City the day before, inviting the ſame perſons to the like confluence at *Weſtminſter*, againſt the Houſes next meeting. All which hath been more fully and more aſſuredly made known, by the Declaration of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons concerning the ſame.

By this meanes the Speakers of both Houſes, together with moſt of the Lords, and a very great number of the moſt faithfull and unqueſtioned Members of the Houſe of Commons, were driven away, ſo as they could not with ſafety attend their ſervice in Parliament, nor with freedome diſcharge their truſt to the Kingdome therein, but were forced to fly to their Army for ſafety, ſo as there was not, nor could then be, any free meeting or legall proceeding of a Parliament. Notwithſtanding which divers Members of both Houſes, (who by the carriage and ſequell of the buſineſſe, will appeare to be of the ſame party and confederacy with the aforeſaid Enemies to our and the Kingdomes Peace, and with the Authors and Actors both of the ſaid treaſonable engagement, and the tumultuous force upon the Parliament.) Taking this opportunity of time, to carry on their deſignes, when very few were left, but of their own party, did continue to meet in the uſuall places in *Weſtminſter*. And (having under pretence of a neceſſity for continuing the Parliament, by adjournment, drawne in ſome few well-minded Members to ſit with them, out of a ſcruple leaſt the Parliament ſhould fall for want of adjournment,) tooke upon them the name of both Houſes of Parliament.

And having on Fryday, *July* 30. choſen a new Speaker, did proceed to Vote and Act as a Parliament, and adjourned from time to time; But of what party and confederacy the moſt of them were, and to what ends and intereſts they acted, will appeare by what they did, whereof we ſhall for preſent give a

faire in some particulars, hoping that shortly the whole Journall of their proceedings may be made publique.

First, the said Members of the House of Commons (conveening as aforesaid) immediately Voted and called in (as to the service of the House, the Eleven impeached Members. And also those who upon former Votes of the House were suspended or under question to be put out for Delinquency, and had put in their cases; with this pretended House of Commons thus composed, and foure or five Lords of the same Modell (for an house of Peeres) they proceed to set up a Committee for safety, (whereof all or most of the said Impeached Members were a part) this Committee they appointed to joyne with that same pretended Committee of the City *Militia*, whose power was obtained onely by the tumultuous force and violence aforesaid: To these Committees the most of many of their proceedings referre, and by divers pretended Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, procured in the name of one or both Houses of Parliament, large powers were given to these two Committees for raising of Forces, appointing chief Commanders and other Officers, and other vast, unlimitted, or unusuall powers were given them, all tending to the raising and levying of a new Warre within this Kingdome; upon which many forces both of Horse and Foot, were actually levyed, and other preparations of Warre made; All which, that they were intended and designed in Justification, prosecution, and maintenance of the aforesaid treasonable engagement, and of the said force and violence done to the Parliament, or of the very same ends and interests, and to oppose and hinder the restitution of the *Houses* of Parliament, to their honour and freedome, and the advance of this their Army for that purpose (being then upon a March. Besides the consideration of the persons into whose hands these powers were committed. It is abundantly evident many other wayes, but especially by that Declaration of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-councell of *London*, which was first, by that pretended Committee of Safety, Ordered, and then by the pretended Houses (without reading a word of it) approved to be published in the Parish Churches, with an exhortation to the people to take

up

up Armes, in maintenance of the ends therein expressed, which (though the pretence were for the Defence of the King, Parliament and City, then alledged to be in great danger, (when as indeed none were in danger, but onely the Authours, Actors, and Abettors, of the traiterous practises aforesaid yet) the true ends thereof appeare clearly to be the same with the said treasonable Engagement, and tumult against the Parliament, all of them concentring (as in other things, so especially in this) *viz. To have the King brought up to London without delay, or any nearer approach of the Army.* And to all these, the succeeding Votes of the pretended Houses, for the same thing did speedily eccho the same note: Concerning which matter (not to examine what alteration of the case, since both Houses, and both Kingdomes also (of *England* and *Scotland*) resolved, that it was not safe, the King should come to *London*, until he had given satisfaction and security to his people in relation to those publique ends for which so much blood and treasure had been spent) we shall onely say thus much to these mens intentions and designes in the businesse. That had the King come up to *London*, (as they have so oft desired and attempted) it is apparent they intended and would have made use of it, rather to lay the stronger foundations of a new Warre (upon the ruines of that publique interest contended for in the former, and of all those that had with most candor, cleatnesse, and simplicity of heart, appeared and acted for the same) then any way to settle thereby a safe and well-grounded peace. And since they could not rationally expect so easie an obtaining of the Kings person to *London* upon such a pretended Vote or Declaration of their desire thereof, it is as evident that they could intend nothing thereby, but a more plausible pretence, and foundation of quarrell against this Army, whereby to ingage or incline to their assistance the Kings party, and such others, who might be catcht with the apprehension thereof, as a speedy way to Peace (the thing so generally longed for) and by such assistance gained the better to ruine this Army, and those faithfull Members of Parliament, who were retired to it. For our parts we shall rejoyce as much as any, to see the King brought back to his Parliament (and that) not so much in place, as in affection and agreement on such

ſound termes and grounds, as may render both Him and the Kingdome, ſafe, quiet, and happy, and ſhall be as ready as any to bring his Majeſty to *London*, when his being there may be likely to produce (not greater diſturbances, but) a Peace indeed. And that ſuch as may not (with the ſhip-wracke of the publick intereſt) be ſhaped and moulded onely to the private advantages of a particular party or faction. But bottomed chiefly on grounds of common and publique welfare & ſecurity. And if (without regard to theſe conſiderations) wee would have brought his Majeſty with us to *London* in our late advance thither, (which our enemies could not hinder or prejudice us in), wee had no cauſe to doubt but (as to men) we might have had all the advantages which our adverſaries promiſed to themſelves, thereby added to the ſtrength and intereſt of the Army, and have inverted the diſadvantages upon them that they intended againſt us thereby; ſo as his Majeſties ſo much deſired comming to *London* might have been much to their prejudice, and our advantage and ſecurity, if we had regarded only our owne particulars.

But (as at preſent our conſciences beare cleare witneſſes to our ſelves ſo) wee hope God will in the iſſue make it cleare to others, that we have not minded, nor been acting our owne worke or intereſts, but the Kingdomes, and every honeſt mans in it. Meane while (to returne to our purpoſe) we thinke it is ſufficiently cleared, That the proceedings of thoſe members of the major part of them (that continued to ſit at *Weſtminſter* during the abſence of the Speakers) the powers by them given, the forces thereupon levied, and other preparations of Warre thereupon made, were all deſigned and driven on in proſecution and maintenance of the ſaid treaſonable ingagement, and of the force done upon the Parliament, or for the ſame ends and intereſt with them, and to oppoſe the advance of this Army towards *London*, for reſtitution of the Parliament to honour and freedome, and indeed to raiſe a new warre in the Kingdome againſt the Parliament and their Army for the deſtruction thereof. And the ſame may (yet further) appeare by this

that

that thoſe very Apprentices, Reformadoes and others about the City who were the chiefe actors in the ſaid engagement and tumult, were afterwards moſt truſted and employed, and moſt active in their preparations for War.

By what we have here ſaid, and what hath been declared and publiſhed from us, and from the Speakers, and aforeſaid Members of both Houſes, and by the whole ſeries of our owne, and our enemies actions and carriages (compared together) it may appeare how tender we have been not only of the authority and juſt priviledges of Parliament, and of the ſafety, peace and welfare both of the Kingdome and the City, but even towards thoſe our enemies themſelves (ſeeking only things neceſſary for the common good of the whole (and that if poſſible) without ruine or hurt to any, and yet how malitiouſly and unworthily we have that while been dealt withall by thoſe our enemies, and by a factious and powerfull party (eſpecially) in the Parliament and City combining with them: And what cleare cauſe we have had both for all that we have formerly deſired or done in prevention of our owne ruine and the Kingdomes diſturbance, and alſo what juſt grounds for our late advance to *London*. The good ſervice whereof (eſpecially) in reſtoring the Parliament to a condition of ſafety, honour and freedome, thereby hath been (without any ſeeking of ours) acknowledged by both Houſes with thankes to us, and publique thankſgiving to the Almighty for it: And a further truſt hath been thereupon committed to the Generall for taking care with his Army to ſafe-guard the Parliament.

The Houſes being thus reſtored to a condition of preſent ſafety, honour and freedome: Two things ſeeme clearely remaining to be done (which our own and moſt mens expectations are moſt ſet upon) *viz.*

Firſt, to vindicate the honour, freedome and ſafety of Parliament from the like affronts and violences in future, and the Army and Kingdome from danger of the like diſturbances (whilſt things ſhall be in a debate or treaty for a ſettlement) and then to proceed unto a ſpeedy ſettlement of the

the peace of the Kingdome.

The latter of these is first in our intentions (being neareſt to the ultimate end.) And wee ſhall earneſtly deſire that in order thereunto, The propoſalls of the Army (whereof the heads are publiſhed) may bee ſpeedily conſidered and brought to a reſolution. But conſidering that the debates of them may take up ſome time ere they be agreed on all hands, and the framing of them into Bills, and perfecting of the ſame will require much more. Something muſt firſt bee done in the former for a preſent ſecurity to the Parliament from like affronts or violence, and to the Army and Kingdom from the like diſturbances to the peace thereof by any farther advantage which the time like to be ſpent in the ſetling of peace, may afford to our watchfull, reſtleſſe, and (we doubt) implacable enemies.

Firſt, therefore to theſe ends (unleſſe it ſhould be thought fit to ſecure the Parliament by keeping the whole body of the Army, or ſo great a part therof, to remain continually in and about *London* as might be ſure to over-power any future tumults or force that may ariſe out of the City, which neither the welfare of the City and eaſe of the parts adjacent, nor the ſafety of the Kingdome in reſpect of the preſent poſture of affaires will admit.)

It is abſolutely neceſſary that there be ſpeedy and exemplary juſtice done upon (at leaſt) the chiefe authors or abettors of the ſaid treaſonable engagement, and of the ſaid force done to the Parliament, and upon the chiefe actors, in maintenance and proſecution thereof (whereby men may be deterred from the like in future.

And this is alſo as neceſſary to the ſecurity of the Army, and peace of the Kingdome, ſince it is apparent by all that hath been ſaid, and by infinit other evidences (too many to recount.) That both the ſaid ingagement, & the force done to the Parliament, and the power of the City *militia* thereby gained, and the ſucceeding votes and orders of the pretended Houſes (but indeed of that faction that are our profeſſed enemies) in maintenance and proſecution thereof, and the

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Forces thereupon leavyed (put under the Command of Major Generall *Maſſey*, and others our profeſſed adverſaries) were all deſigned and directed to the ruine and deſtruction of this Army, and the raiſing of a new Warre againſt us in this Kingdome. And having had ſuch experience of their reſtleſſe malice and cruell intentions towards us, (notwithſtanding our tenderneſſe and lenity towards them) and of their treacherous dealing (ſo ſoone as they thought they had the advantage) notwithſtanding all their ſemblances of complyance to a compoſure. What reaſon is there to expect, but that if by our patience and delayes, they apprehend in future the like or other advantage, they will breake out againe into the like or worſe attempts of violence and Warre, if all eſcape with impunity for theſe.

But as to this point of ſecurity by exemplary Juſtice in an ordinary way, we ſee our hopes almoſt fruſtrated, whileſt, (though our deſires and reſolutions to that purpoſe, expreſt in our late Declaration of our advance towards *London*, were then ſeconded with the declared approbation and concurrent reſolutions of the Speakers and Members of both Houſes, that were driven away to the Army, and with their engagement to live and dye with us therein. And though in purſuance thereof, the Right Honourable Houſe of Peeres, have ſince their reſtitution, begun and proceeded to declare null and void, all that was done in the name of both Houſes, while they lay under the power of that tumultuous violence; and to give their more authentique aprobation to our ſaid Declaration, made in behalf of the ſaid Speakers and Members, while they were with the Army: And in behalfe of the honour and freedome of the Parliament, and to give their like approbation to the concurrent Declaration and Engagement of the ſaid Speakers and Members, made to us while they were with us, yet) the Houſe of Commons hath not onely not concurred with the Lords in any of thoſe things, but rather ſeeme to have caſt them aſide. And upon the Queſtion concerning thoſe very Votes of the ſaid 26. of July. To which the Houſes

were by the ſaid violence inforced [whether they ſhould be declared Null and void] it was carried in the Negative, That the Queſtion ſhould not be put; by the conſequiences whereof, (which are many wayes very ſad, this poore Kingdom, and more then we can recompt) and by all ſubſequent proceedings in that Houſe, in relation to the whole buſines, we clearly finde, That the Members of that Houſe, who (after the violence done to it, and during the abſence of the Speaker, and the other Members thereby driven away) proceeding in the name of that Houſe as aforeſaid procured the pretended powers, and did make the pretended Votes, Orders, and Ordinances afore mentioned; and many of them were the Factors thereupon for the leavying of War, in proſecution and maintenance of the aforeſaid treaſonable engagement, and force done to the Parliament, and for the oppoſing, reſiſting, and deſtroying of this the Parliaments Army in its advance to *London*, for the reſtitution of the Parliament to its Honour and freedome, being conſcious of their owne guilt and danger thereby; yet preſuming on their intereſt in the Houſe, and the patience and lenity of this Army doe continue and intrude themſelves, and to ſit and Vote there, and by their preſent intereſt in the Houſe doe uſe their utmoſt endeavours, and very much prevaile to obſtruct and avoyd the bringing of any to Juſtice, who have acted under their pretended Authority, (knowing it to be their owne caſe and concernment in point of impunity, as well as conducency to their faction and intereſt) And for that cauſe they labour (as for life) to uphold the things paſt and done, and the Authorities given by them and their Faction (in their and the Apprentices pretended Parliament) yea, even thoſe very Votes and Authorities, wreſted from the Parliament, by that palpable force of *July* the 26. to be good and valid untill they be repealed (as if paſt in a free and legall Parliament;) in which Point, and all Queſtions touching upon it, we finde they preſume upon, and are ſtrengthened by the concurrence of divers other Members, who having (perhaps with harmleſſe intentions) continued to ſit with them during

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the Speakers abſence, as aforeſaid (though they conſented not to any of their miſchievous Votes and Orders, or treaſonable proceedings afore mentioned) may yet feare themſelves to be involved in the ſame caſe and danger by having ſate with them; And thus by the concurrence of theſe two Parties in the Houſe (as to that point) and the intereſt which both thoſe Parties have with others in the Houſe (eſpecially upon a matter of ſaving one another) and by the partiall reſpects of ſome others in the Houſe, for the ſaving of their friends out of the Houſe, who have acted under the Authority, and for the evill ends aforementioned, we finde an abſolute obſtruction to the bringing to Juſtice, or queſtioning of any) who have acted in the late leavying of War againſt us, and againſt the vindication of the Parliaments freedome, or in the ſaid treaſonable engagements, yea, or in abetment of the tumultuous violence upon the Parliament it ſelfe; neither can we finde or heare of any one Perſon hitherto brought to Juſtice, or Queſtion for any of theſe things, but all ſeeme to be either juſtified, or at leaſt protected from Juſtice by the power and prevalence of thoſe Members in Parliament, who are (many of them, as we can make appeare) equally guilty of, and (others) in ſome kinde obnoxious for the ſame things; and thus not only our juſt expectations of vindication to the Parliament, and ſecurity to our ſelves and the Kingdome from the like treaſonable and turbulent practiſes in future, (by exemplary Juſtice for what hath been ſo done) are fruſtrated, but even the ſafety and immunity of the Speakers, and thoſe faithfull Members of both Houſes that were driven away by the violence aforeſaid, and the immunity of the Army in advancing to *London*, to bring them back, and reſtore the Parliament to its Honour and Freedome (which hath been acknowledged, with publike Thankeſgiving to God for it, as aforeſaid) is ſubjected and expoſed to queſtion (where in theirs and ours, and the Kingdomes enemies obtrude themſelves to be the Iudges) for if thoſe pretended Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, whereby War was leavied againſt them and us were then

good and valid (though they ſhould now be repealed, yet) we, with the Speakers, and thoſe Members aforeſaid, in oppoſing of them while they were of force, muſt needs remaine tranſgreſſors ſtill, and yet God and we are thanked for it [what a mock is this to God, and man.]

But to returne to the more ſerious conſideration of our caſe, in relation to the ſecurity of the Parliament, Kingdom, and our ſelves, againſt the like turbulent and treaſonable practiſes in future, ſince by the meanes aforeſaid no ſecurity by exemplary Juſtice can at preſent be had, (to deter any from the like) we wiſh all men to conſider what ſtraights we are in this caſe put upon ; (That which is the maine worke of the Kingdome; and which we moſt earneſtly thirſt for, and attend upon, (viz. the ſetling of a Peace, and conſideration of our Propoſalls in order thereunto) will aske time to bring it to an iſſue; and that done, the releeving or remedying of the preſſing grievances of the Kingdome, will take up and require the ſitting of the Parliament for ſome further time (though upon the ſetling of a Peace a period be ſet for the certaine ending of it) now for the body of this Army, or ſo great a part of it (as may ſerve to over-power any future tumults, or force that may ariſe in or from the City) to continue hereabouts ſo long, the condition of the Country hereabouts, and the neceſſities of the City (in point of proviſion) cannot well beare it, and (we doubt) forraigne Forces (that are already upon the wing) and turbulent ſpirits, that in ſeverall parts of the Kingdome, are beginning inſurrections, (if we continue fixed here) will have ſuch opportunity, and take ſuch incouragement therefrom, as that they may ere long neceſſarily call us off ; ſhould we now or hereafter (while the Parliament ſits) draw off the Army from about the City, without exemplary Juſtice upon ſome, would not the ſame or more dangerous tumults and violences probably returne upon the Parliament ; and the like or worſe practiſes of raiſing a new Warre, be revived, (with more advantage to our enemies, more danger to us and the Kingdome, and leſſe hopes of appeaſing it, ſo eaſily and happily as the

former)

formerly while the same violent and factious spirits, both in the Parliament and elsewhere, shall continue in the same power and opportunities as formerly, and both they, and all others, shall have before their eyes the incouragement of that impunity and protection (yea rather that justification) which they have hitherto found from within the Parliament it self, in the past practises aforementioned, though as grossly treasonable as any they can hereafter run into; should we or any others (for the obtaining exemplary Justice upon some) proceed to impeach any, for their past treasonable practises, what hopes of Justice, or of a timely dispatch therein can we have, while such a prevailing party of new interested and concerned in the same things shall in the House of Commons continue to be Judges thereof, or at least be ready to avow and justifie the offendors therein, as having acted under their pretended Authority. In this straight therefore (though we ever have been, and shall be most tender of all just Priviledges of Parliament, yet) finding the root of these and other difficulties to the Parliament, Kingdome, and our selves; to lye in this, viz. [that those Members of the House of Commons, who (during the forced absence of the Speakers of both Houses) continuing to sit and act as a Parliament, did procure and consent to the pretended Votes, Orders, and Ordinances aforementioned, for leavying of Warre; and that (as is before demonstrated) in direct prosecution or maintenance of the aforesaid treasonable ingagement, and the violence done to the Parliament, and for the opposing, resisting, and destroying of this the Parliaments Army, in its advance towards London (onely to restore the Speakers and Members of both Houses that were driven away, and the Houses themselves to their Honour and freedome,) and who are thereby, and by their late owning, and avowing of the same, and many of them (as we can prove) by acting personally in the said treasonable practises, become parties to the same, do yet take the boldnesse to sit and vote in Parliament, especially in the House of Commons] (we say) finding the maine root of our difficulties and dan-

gers lying in this; first, we appeale to all men, whether it be just or tolerable, that any priviledge of Parliament should (contrary to the Law of nature) make a man Judge in his owne case and concernment? and we wish those men themselves to consider (if we had come to an ingagement with the Forces raised by vertue of their pretended Votes and Ordinances, and that thousands had been slaine, and we had made our way by the Sword) whether they would then have expected to have sate as Judges upon us therein? and we are sure it is no thanks to them that it hath beene otherwise; and had we found those Members in Armes against us, and subdued and taken them, whether had they not then been in the condition of prisoners of Warre? and (if so) then having put Armes into the hands of others, against us, and still maintaining it, whether can they in strict Justice challenge any better condition from us? But, that (contrariwise) we should suffer, either that those whom by the course of Warre (which they had chose to ingage in against us) we might justly make our prisoners, should in a course of Law, become our Masters and Commanders? or that those who the other day did, in an hostile manner, indeavour to have been our Executioners, should (now we have by force tooke their preparations against us) become our Judges, (we suppose) no reasonable man, nor themselves (when they well consider it) can expect from us.

Upon all these considerations of the justnesse of the cause, and the necessity of the thing, for the safety of the Parliament, Kingdome, and this Army, (having no other way left timely to remedy the difficulties we are put upon, or prevent the growing dangers of future violence unto the Parliament, and disturbances to the Kingdome, or to secure the Parliament in a quiet proceeding to settle the peace of the Kingdom. And (in such case) the safety of the people being the supreame Law we do protest and declare:

That, if any of those Members, who during the absence of the Speakers, and the rest of the Members of both Houses (forced away by the tumultuous violence aforesaid

ſaid) did ſit, and Vote in the pretended Houſes then continuing at *VVeſtminſter*, that hereafter intrude themſelves to ſit in Parliament, before they ſhall have given ſatisfaction to the reſpective Houſes whereof they are, concerning the grounds of their ſaid ſitting at *VVeſtminſter*, during the abſence of the ſaid Speakers, and ſhall have acquitted themſelves by ſufficient Evidence, That they did not procure, or give their conſent unto any of thoſe pretended Votes, Orders, or Ordinances tending to the raiſing and leavying of a Warre (as is before declared: or for the Kings comming forthwith to *London*) we cannot any longer ſuffer the ſame, but ſhall doe that right to the Speakers and Members of both Houſes, who were driven away to us, and to our ſelves with them (all whom the ſaid other Members have endeavoured in an Hoſtile manner moſt unjuſtly to deſtroy) and alſo to the Kingdome (which they endeavoured to imbroyle in a new Warre) as to take ſome ſpeedy and effectuall courſe, whereby to reſtraine them from being their owne, and ours, and the Kingdomes Judges in thoſe things wherein they have made themſelves Parties, by this meanes to make Warre, that both they and others that are guilty of, and Parties to the aforeſaid treaſonable and deſtructive practiſes and proceedings againſt the freedome of Parliament, and peace of the Kingdome, may be brought to condigne puniſhment (and that) at the Judgement of a free Parliament, conſiſting (duely and properly) of ſuch Members of both Houſes reſpectively, who ſtand cleare from ſuch apparant and treaſonable breach of their truſt as is before expreſſed.

By the appointment of His Excellency,
and the generall Councell of his Army.
Signed, *Jo. Ruſhworth* Secretary.

At the Head Quarter of
Kingſton upon Thames,
Auguſt 18. 1647.

FINIS.